LITERARY KONKANI

A Brief History

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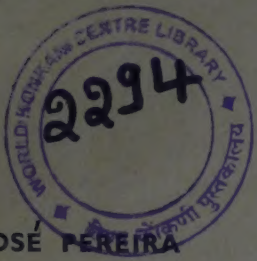
LITERARY KONKANI

A BRIEF HISTORY



JOSÉ PEREIRA

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KONKANI SAHITYA PRAKASHAN
DHARWAR

1973

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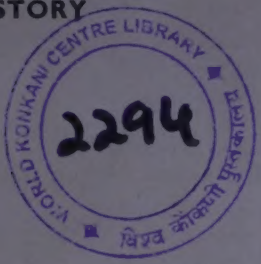

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KONKANI SAHITYA PRAKASHAN
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This is our second publication.

We need not introduce the author, Prof. José Pereira. The readers of our first publication 'Essays on Konkani Language and Literature' know him as an ardent servant of Konkani. Since then, his work 'Konkani a Language : A History of the Konkani-Marathi Controversy' has been published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar which has also brought him name and fame. He is at present a Professor in the Dept. of Theology, Fordham University, Bronx, New York, teaching both Brahmanical and Buddhist Theology as well as Sanskrit. But in his heart of heart he is a lover of Konkani, his mother-tongue. It is our good fortune that he is taking much pains to unearth the past glory of this sweet language and is presenting his discoveries to the people at large. This will certainly infuse a sense of pride to the Konkani people, many of whom are to-day trying to conceal their mother-tongue.

We are conscious that this our second publication is also *on* Konkani. We are foreseeing a day when we will publish substantial matter *in* Konkani too.

It is heartening to note that many Konkani-lovers are actively supporting our venture. We are thankful to all of them. We make here the special mention of Shri K. V. Deshpande (Haliyal), Dharwar who has kindly allowed us to dedicate this work to the sacred memory of his revered father late Vaikuntharao Deshpande. We are also thankful to Shri M. G. Palekar of Vasant Printing Works for the neat and prompt printing.

We will also be thankful to all those readers who will be kind enough to communicate to us, their frank comments after going through this book.

Dharwar
10-8-1973

D. N. Shanbhag
S. V. Bhat

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

THE ROMANIZED SPELLING OF KONKANI

Of the Many ways in which Konkani is romanized I shall consider only four :

(1) That adopted by the writers of Old Standard Konkani, or **Porni Pramann** (PM), based on the conventions of romanized Portuguese and Devanagari.

(2) That established by the Rachol Convention (RC) of April 1957, little different from PM and generally followed by Goan writers.

(3) A modified variety of RC (MRC), adopted in this book, the modifications representing those sounds of Konkani that Devanagari does not symbolize.

(4) The spelling of Indian words conventional in what used to be British India (BI), which shares the eccentricities of its English model.

The outstanding features of MRC are as follows :

(A) VOWELS

a	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*
अ, आ	Kannada ಎ, ಏ	इ, ई	Kannada ಒ ओ	उ, ऊ

(B) CONSONANTS

(a) Single consonants : *s*, *g*, *j*, *z* always represent स, ग, ज, झ.

(b) Compound consonants: The relatively small Roman alphabet can be made to express the more numerous Konkani sounds (1) by the use of diacritics; (2) by a doubling of the same letters; and (3) by combinations of two different letters. PM, RC and MRC concur in rejecting (1).

Doubling of the same letters : *d*, *l*, *n*, *t* represent, when single, dental sounds; when doubled, lingual :

d	*l*	*n*	*t*	*dd*	*ll*	*nn*	*tt*
द	ल	न	त	ड	ळ	ण	ट

The further doubling of these sounds is thus represented

d–d	*l–l*	*n–n*	*t–t*	*d–dd*	*l–ll*	*n–nn*	*t–tt*
द्	ल्ल	न्न	त्त	ड्ड	ळ्ळ	ण्ण	ट्ट

Combinations of two different letters : *c* + *h* = *ch* (च): *l* + *h* as in the Portuguese *olho* "eye"; *n* + *h* = ञ or as in the Portuguese *sonho*, "dream"; *r* + *h* = ड़ as in *tambrhem*, "red" (innacurately represented in RC as *dd* or ड as in *tambddem* or तांबडे : however, the sound is not a lingual, but a "flapped" *r*); *t* + *s* as in *tsoru*, "thief", inaccurately represented in RC by *ch* (=च) and written as *choru*.

(C) NASALS

In the middle of a word, *m* before labials (as in *ambo*, आंबो "mango"); in all other cases *n* as in *sansar* (संसार) "world". At the end of a word, *m* in all cases, as in *pitam* (पितां) "I drink"; *m* non-nasal, at the end of a word is represented by a double *m*, as in *pitamm'* (पितामं), "formerly".

(D) DIACRITICAL MARKS

The *apostrophe* indicates elision (especially prevalent in the Saxtti dialect) as in *mattvam'* (माटवां) from *mattvant* or *mattvautum* (माटवांतुं), "in the pavillion". The dash joins, as in *burgim–ballam* (बुरगीं–बाळां) "children"; or separates, in three instances. (1) where linking would otherwise have altered the meaning, as in *mal–lo* (माल्लो or मारिल्लो)"beaten", as distinct from *mallo* (माळो) "floor"; (2) where there would be a cluster of too many identical consonants, as in *kal-llo* काळ्ळो or काडिल्लो) "took"; (3) to show that the intervocal *n* is not a nasal, as in *mun–xa* (मुनशा or मनुशा) "o man", which without the dash would be pronounced मुंशा.

I have employed MRC for all Konkani words and for the names of Konkani writers who lived and acquired fame in Goa, and BI for the names of those who either lived or acquired fame in British India.

Literature conveys irrefutable condensed experience
t yet another invaluable direction, namely from
eneration to generation. Thus it becomes the living
iemory of the nation. Thus it preserves and kindles
'ithin itself the flame of her spent history in a form
'hich is safe from deformation and slander. In this
'ay literature together with language protects the
oul of the nation.

But woe to that nation whose literature is disturbed
y the intervention of power. Because that is not just
i violation against 'freedom of print', it is the
closing down of the heart of the nation, a slashing
to pieces of its memory. The nation ceases to be
mindful of itself, it is deprived of its spiritual
unity, and despite a supposedly common language,
compatriots suddenly cease to understand one
another.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn,
Nobel Lecture, 1970

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Dedicated

to

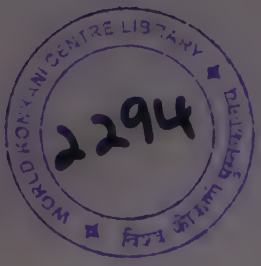
the Sacred Memory

of

Late Vaikunthrao Mangeshrao

Deshpande

HALIYAL



I. THE BACKGROUND OF KONKANI'S LITERARY EVOLUTION

The history of Konkani is obviously linked with that of its speakers, but not everything that befell them has an equal bearing on the evolution of their language. I shall here try and highlight those events whose impact I feel made Konkani what it is today.

The general history of the Konkan, which comprises these events and others, can be outlined briefly. The territory was occupied first by tribal clans, which still survive as village communities, or *gaumponns*. It was then absorbed into the empire of the Mauryas, after whose downfall ever-changing dynasties ruled it, until its conquest by the Muslims. For a brief period there was a tussle between the latter and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. At this stage the Portuguese annexed the most important of the Konkan's provinces, Goa, while the others, after various vicissitudes, fell to the British. In due course, the two European sovereignties were extinguished, but the Konkan still is, as it has long been, one linguistically, stretching from Vijayadurg to Hosdurg.*

* This comprises the homelands of both Konkani and Tulu.

The most outstanding events in this historical flux I tak to be the following twenty-seven :

(1) The entry of the Aryans into the Konkan

This is perhaps the most significant background event i Konkani's history. Into a non-Aryan country came th Sarasvat brahmins and the *tsa-ddis* (the Punjabi Chaddas ? bearing with them a Northern Indian speech. In their tre southwards they took over some of the Nagari Prakrit o Western India and more of the Maharashtri of the Northern Deccan–ancient India's song-language. By the eighth century they were already in the Konkan. The amalgam of th Prakrits had, two centuries afterwards, given rise to Konkani

(2) The Establishment of Kannada and Marathi as the Konkan's Official and Religious Tongues

But this oldest of modern Indo-Aryan tongues was not fated to reign in its own home; very early, official and religious status was accorded to the vernaculars of the more powerful adjacent territories, Karnatak and Maharastra. At the time the northern emigrants arrived in the Konkan, the prestige and power of Kannada extended over the land between the Godavari and the Kaveri; the great rock temples of the Deccan and the Konkan have inscriptions in it. The latter region was for a long time afterwards under the sway of Kannada-speaking dynasties, and Konkani has felt the force of its Dravidian neighbour's dominion.

To the north, in Maharashtra, the rule of Kannada was overthrown by the Yadavas speaking the nascent Marathi. They, in turn, were subdued by monarchs, like the Bahmanis and the Bijapur Sultans, who used Persian as their official tongue. The Yadavas ruled over portions of the Konkan for a time, and after them the Bahmanis did so too; both gave

Marathi official standing. This continued under the sultans of Bijapur, whose enemies, the Vijayanagara emperors, offered high posts to Konkani brahmins in their civil service. Their vacant places in the Konkan's temples were taken by the less qualified Maratha brahmin priests, who raised their own vernacular to the position of Konkani Hinduism's sacred speech.

(3) The Evolution of Konkani Song

While officialdom repudiated Konkani, the people cherished it. Their tongue, a true daughter of Maharashtri, had music in her blood; in this blood was lit the flame that still glows in Konkani song.

(4) The Establishment of the Catholic Church in the Konkan (after 1510)

In the history of religions, there often comes a moment when young and vital speeches assert themselves against rigid and hieratic ones. By the sixteenth century, the modern Indo-Aryan languages were assured of their victory against the powerful Sanskrit. Among them was Marathi, who made use of her emancipation also to clamp down a narrow tyranny of her own on her older sister Konkani. Only sheer vitality sustained the latter, so unprotected by the factors of a large number of speakers, extensive territory and official support—all of which, liberally gifted to Marathi, went to boost her arrogance. At this stage, on the soil of the Konkan, was established a religion whose founder had enjoined his followers to preach the gospel to every creature. Like the disciples of the Buddha and the Jina, those of Christ had made it a cardinal principle to teach the people religion in the latter's own speech, and Christianity rendered Konkani the service that Buddhism and Jainism had done to many other now flourishing Indian tongues.

(5) The Founding of Konkani Schools for Missionaries (c. 1565 and after)

Unlike the first Buddhist and Jain missionaries, the first Christian ones in the Konkan were not native speakers of the tongues they preached in; hence schools had to be set up for them, and were – in Old Goa (c. 1565), Tsodnnem (Chorao, c. 1565), Raitur (Rachol, 1576) and Mapxem (Mapuca). The missionaries' sacred language was Latin, which had a clearly articulated and defined grammar. In the sixteenth century, the inchoate grammars of the tongues of Latin Europe were being patterned on those of their classical predecessor. The same model was followed in the analysis of Konkani.

(6) The Setting up of the Printing Press in Goa (1556) and the Adoption of the Roman Script

Besides bringing with them some of the West's dynamism, the missionaries brought some of its contrivances, such as the press, which gave Konkani the privilege of possessing the first texts printed in any Indian tongue. But the advantages of the press were offset by two handicaps : the smallness of the reading public (chiefly missionary clerics) and the adoption of the Roman script. This ultimately rendered Devanagari unfamiliar to its former adepts, and so put works in Sanskrit and the derived languages out of bounds to them, thus sequestering Konkani from its parent and sister tongues.

(7) The Establishment of Portuguese as the Official Language in Goa

Portuguese was the tongue of the conquerors; hence in it was conducted the business of the State; hence the new script for Konkani, Roman (which is that of Portuguese), brought the literature of the latter tongue to the speakers of the Indian one. With this the Goan Konkanis began to look more to

'ortuguese than to Sanskrit for learned and complex terms, nd hence the impoverishment of their speech in its native ubstance began.

8) The Inquisition (1560) and the First Southern Migration (from 1561)

Though living in the age of the Renaissance, the onquerors of Konkani's heartland were mediaeval-minded; or them Church and State were one, with interests linked. Unbelievers and heretics were felt to be inimical not only to he ecclesiastical but also to the temporal power. Most Hindus, faced with the choice of conversion and the loss of heir homes, opted for the latter. The personal misfortune of housands was in some way beneficial to Konkani. It extended he language's domain southwards (probably at the expense of Tulu, thus beginning the two languages' speakers' communion of four centuries), and also helped to keep its standard form alive to this day. But the harm the Inquisition did over-balanced the good. The emotional cleavage between the two main Konkani communities today is to be owed to its alone.

(9) The Supression of Konkani (1684)

The Church's ecumenical interests were increasingly absorbed by the State's more nationalistic ones. Keeping the Christians faithful to the Crown meant isolating them culturally from the surrounding unbelievers, and language is one of the principal factors of culture. Also, at the end of the seventeenth century, the level of Portuguese scholarship was falling, and with it their interest in Konkani. The law banned the use of the mother-tongue, and commanded the Goans to speak Portuguese only. The order was disobeyed; but the one literary norm broke up, and from its ruins the seven literary dialects arose.

(10) Famines and Maratha Raids and the Second Southern Migration

The end of the sixteenth century saw Tisvarh, Saxtty and Barhdes depopulated and Christian. But Konkani philopro genitiveness soon augmented the number of the faithful, wh were forced to expiate the injustice done to their Hind ancestors, by famines (1553, 1570, 1682), epidemics (1635 and frequent Maratha marauding incursions (1683, 1729 etc.). To escape these disasters, large numbers fled south especially in the eighteenth century (1710, 1712, 1729), takin with them Konkani as it had then evolved from the standar speech of the sixteenth. The chief city on which this exodu impinged was Mangalore.

(11) Tippu and the Seringapatam Captivity (1784-1799)

As in Goa, the Christians multiplied and flourished in the Kanaras, which had by then come under the Muslim sultans of Karnatak- the first of whom was Hyder Ali. The Christians, who secretly sided with Hyder's English enemies, were suspect, and his son, Tippu, resolved either to Islamize or to destroy them. In 1784, he had them herded into captivity in his capital, Seringapatam, where they remained till 1799. This trauma, while it shattered the Kanara Christians' older tradition, toughened their nerve for the creative response they achieved on their liberation.

(12) The Protestant Missions and the Programme of Bible Translation

While the Christians of the old Apostolic Church were undergoing their ordeal, the missionaries of the newer reformist bodies were busy making converts. An important sect were the Baptists, and their greatest missionary in India, William Carey (1761-1834)— one of the most outstanding of

British Orientalists – undertook to translate the Bible into Indian tongues. To prepare himself for this task, he learnt many of them himself, and published grammars and dictionaries of a few. But the work was too vast for any one man; so Carey first rendered the scriptures from the originals into Sanskrit, Hindustani and Bengali; he then engaged pundits from India's various linguistic provinces to turn any of these versions into their own tongues. As Carey had learnt enough of the languages to be able to judge of their written style, he revised the pundits' drafts and gave their prose its final shape.

(13) The Italian Carmelities

Protestant missionary enterprise in India coincided with a change in the Catholic Church's proselytizing policy. From the advent of the Portuguese, the Catholic missions had been under the patronage (*Padroado*) of the Portuguese State. But close linkage to a particular, and now declining, European power, began to harm the Christian cause; so the Church decided to promote her own missions, and to this end founded the *De-Propaganda Fide* (1622)— which came into inevitable conflict with the Padroado. Some of the Propaganda's most ardent defenders were the Italian Carmelites, who, from the seventeenth century (especially after 1717), were established in places like Bombay, Karwar and Kerala.

(14) Church Quarrels (1837–1886)

The Propaganda–Padroado conflict erupted savagely after Tippu's death over matters of jurisdiction, especially in Bombay and to the South of Goa; in the latter area, it divided villages and families from each other, and finally antagonized the Christians of Goa (Goans) and those of the Kanaras (Mangaloreans).

(15) Elections in Goa (from 1822)

One reason why the Church wished to dissociate herself from Portugal was the rise of anti-clerical ideas there; these caused an upheaval in both the mother country and its Indian colonies. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, French revolutionary notions, which had earlier filtered through, now gained a definite foothold, fomenting the rise of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy in 1820. This led to the acceptance of elections of parliamentary candidates and the voicing of more outspoken opinion against the government. An important province of the Portuguese monarchy, Goa, was given the right to choose its own candidates. Its people, who hitherto had been discouraged from saying what they thought of their government, now often did so in a manner which the authorities considered rebellious. The Goans also learned to compose political songs.

(16) The Konkani-Marathi Controversy (from 1807)

Lusitanization was for Konkani a force at once destructive and liberative; destructive, because as a channel of an intolerant Westernization, it aimed at absorbing Konkani culture into itself; liberative, because it freed Konkani from the oppression of another intolerant and corrosive, but far less sophisticated, culture— the Maratha. Marathi had long claimed to be the sole literary tongue of the Konkan (event 2); bowing before its claims many Konkanis had offered to Marathi (as also to Kannada) the literary talent they had denied to their mother-tongue. But in arrogating to itself the privilege of being the Konkan's sole literary medium, Marathi had not denied, but only ignored, Konkani's right to be considered a distinct language and to autonomous literary development— until a dilettantish literateur and scholar, the Scots John Leyden (1775–1811), voiced the opinion that Konkani was but a Marathi dialect. This

heory, which the Marathas were later to exploit for political ends, was born of Leyden's inadequate knowledge of the anguages he theorized about, as his opponent William Carey, perhaps the greatest Orientalist of his age, discovered. After Carey, the Konkani-Marathi controversy came to interest many of Indian philology's outstanding minds, and the profounder scholars among them, those with greater knowledge of Konkani and more considered in their judgments, generally affirmed its independence. Among them were John Wilson (1804–1875), convert to the Konkanist view, and his pupil John Murray Mitchell (1815–1904); Gerson da Cunha (1844–1900), systematizer of the Konkanist reasoning; and the Italian Jesuit Angelo Maffei (1844–1899), the grammarian of the Mangalluri dialect. Prominent Marathists were the renowned traveller, author and eroticist Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890); the grammarian of Marathi, Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjikar (1843–1901); the Norwegian Indologist Sten Konow (1867–1948), a collaborator of George Grierson (1851–1941) in his vast survey of India's languages; and Samba Sardesai (1874–1967), who gave Marathism its present form. But this theory was finally demolished by four great scholars : Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalgado (1855–1922), one of the most important of Oriental lexicographers; Jules Bloch (1880–1953), founder of modern Indian philology; Vaman Varde Valaulikar (1877–1946), Konkani's most ardent defender and devotee; and Sumitra Mangesh Katre (1906–), organizer of a Sanskrit dictionary on historical principles and one of India's most prominent modern linguists.

The repercussions of the controversy on Konkani literature were highly injurious; they swelled the drain of Konkani creative talent from the mother-tongue. Most authors, understandably, were unwilling to write in a tongue which, belonging as it did to a subculture and thus lacking

social respectability, seemed further branded with a ineffaceable dialectal stigma which precluded it from ever becoming a sophisticated literary medium.

(17) Introduction of Dancing into Goa (late 1830s or early 1840s)

Under the monarchy, the Christians of Goa gradually adopted much of their conquerors' culture, but lived apart from them, thus preserving their own older habits of living. The change of climate brought about by the constitutional monarchy encouraged more contact between the rulers and the ruled, bringing about a further Lusitanization in the Goans' dress, etiquette and speech habits, and, more important, making it easy for them to adopt social dancing. The Goans soon mastered the Minuet, Contredanse, Waltz and other dance forms, and dance music had a revolutionary impact on their song.

(18) Cunha Rivara's and Valaulikar's Crusades

Among those engaged in furthering the Goan–Portuguese *rapprochement* and in pacifying the Propaganda–Padroado conflict was Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1800–1879), a scholar in Portuguese history in the East. Arriving in India in 1855 (where he remained till 1877), he was appalled by Konkani's prostration in Goa, and laid the foundations of its revival by writing about its history (1858) and attempting to establish Konkani schools (1859). His efforts at first had little effect among the Christians and almost none among the Hindus (whom the Inquisition had driven into the arms of Marathi). Some time after Cunha Rivara's exertions had barely borne fruit among the Christians, Vaman Varde Valaulikar (1877–1946), inspired by the great historian's example, set himself to restore Konkani's dignity among the Hindus, surpassing his predecessor in extent of learning in

onkani, thoroughness and missionary ardour. With alaulikar began the modern Hindu Konkani movement.

9) The Study of Konkani Song

Konkani derives much of its vitality from its matchless ong tradition (event 3), which can only be preserved by ultivation of taste – itself dependent on a disciplined study f the song tradition. Research into Konkani Song was egun by the versatile Miguel Vicente de Abreu (1827–1884), he first scholar to publish examples of its hymns and folk-ongs. Towards the end of the century, Maria Aninha da ilva Coelho brought out what seems to be the first printed ext of numbers of the Mando, Goan Song's supreme type. The example of these pioneers inspired many collectors to ublish specimens of Konkani Song, but their work was for he most part amateurish.

The first critical analysis of Konkani Song was outlined by Eduardo de Souza (1837?–1905) for religious song, and by Fernando Leal (1846–1910) for the profane; these men were great figures in the age's Konkani and Portuguese literatures respectively. Their work was developed by two other poets – Frederico Dinis de Aiala (1860–1923) and Floriano Barreto (1878–1904). It was elaborated, not always successfully, by Francisco Correia-Afonso (1893–1961), Armando Menezes (1902–), Roberto de Souza, Amâncio Gracias, Antonio Mascarenhas, Antsher Lobo, and, in particular, by Lucio Rodrigues (1915–), Micael Martins (1914–) and José Pereira (1931–). These workers were primarily concerned with the songs of the Goan Christians; those of the Goan Hindus were collected by persons like Vasudev Kamti Vag (1910–1965), and Vasudha Mane; those of the Christians of the Kanaras, by the anonymous author of the *Xembor Cantizo* (1892), A. J. de Souza (1914) and others; those of the Hindus of the Kanaras

by a few researchers, among whom are G. Annaji Rao (1940), V. N. Prabhu of Gokarn, and Jambaka Shennai (1907–) of Cochin. The profane songs of the Kerala Konkanis, which represent the oldest surviving strand of the tradition, are being published serially in the *Panchkadayi*, the Konkani monthly of Mangalore.

One main purpose of song collection is to prepare texts for the use of the performers. Konkani love or drama and the expertise of Goan musicians have made Konkani Song known in India and elsewhere. Among the best performers are Mestre Lourenco Dias (died c. 1930), Carlos Eugénio Ferreira (1869–1932), Francisco Sardinha (1897–1958), Mestre Antonio de Figueiredo and Micael Martins. The efforts of Konkani singers were given a tremendous boost by the establishment of the yearly Festival of the Mando in 1965 by Bernardo Fernandes.

(20) The Great Emigration to Bombay and the North

As we saw, the Konkanis have a long tradition in emigration; first into the Konkan from the North, due to various happenings in the Indo-Gangetic plain; then to the South, because of Portuguese persecution. In more modern times, they flocked in vast numbers to the large towns of India, owing to the rise of British power, the pressure on the land at home, and the prosperity deriving from India's pacification by British arms.

All through the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Saxons had cast envious eyes on Goa. In the second half of this span they attempted to constrict it economically. Before about 1860, the Portuguese colony used to supply salt, copra, etc. to the lands round Belgaum and Dharwar; after that, the British started importing these goods, especially salt, cheaper from the South. Goan trade was ruined; population was growing unchecked; the American Civil War had blessed

Bombay with a cotton boom. Then Goans, in multitudes, emigrated northwards, first in sailing boats and later in steamships (found in Goa from 1870) and the railway (built there in 1886). Places like Belgaum and Poona were among the first towns to attract emigrants; later, the largest number converged (as they still do) on Bombay; after that, colonies began to mushroom in Karachi and the ports around the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Most of these places were more evolved industrially than Goa was, and the Goan province which supplied most of the emigrants was Barhdes. But the Goans were not the only Konkanis susceptible to Bombay's charm; those of the Kanaras came under its spell too, but were swept off their feet only in the first decades of the twentieth century.

(21) The Development of Indian Journalism (after 1818)

Committed more to trade than to imperial expansion for its own sake, the British did not in the beginning try to impose their own cultural modes, including their language, on their Indian subjects; they fostered the local languages and instituted schools in them. The Indian tongues, for some time virtually fallow, began to sprout again, and one of the signs of the new vigour was journalism, which the authorities encouraged. The first Indian paper was published in Bengali in 1818; the first Marathi one appeared thirteen years afterwards. In Goa, however, the tradition of despising Konkani, Portuguese lack of interest and curiosity about anything "native", and general indifference (which Rivara tried so hard to combat), led to Konkani's languescence. The emigrants in British India, on the other hand, saw how journalism in Indian tongues flourished there, and were encouraged to start papers in their own speech (from 1889).

(22) The Italian Jesuits

In the Kanaras, the Christians were recovering from the nightmare of Tippu's captivity and the Propaganda–Padroado wrangle. Intelligent and eager to learn, the Mangalorean Christians, from the time of their arrival in the Kanaras, had had no educational activity among them worth the name. This was supplied by the Italian Jesuits, who landed in Mangalore on the last day of 1878. The college they established there, St Aloysius, turned out some of the most educated Southern Konkani minds.

(23) The Struggle for Freedom

Western education, with its ideas of sovereign state and national freedom, had been implanted in Goa long before it had been elsewhere in India; hence it could be expected to bear fruit there earlier. Revolts there were many, but the first concerted effort to create an independent Goa was launched by what is called the 'Conspiracy of the Pintos' (1787). In the last decades of the nineteenth century, when the election fever was at its fiercest, the party of Bishop Antonio Francisco Alvares (1837–1923) tried to get Goa made a state within Portugal. Though the first clear statement of the need for India *as a nation* to be free (with the cultural reasons for it) seems to have been put forward by a Konkani, Francisco Luis Gomes (in his letter, to Lamartine, of 5 January 1861), none of the Goan upheavals were intended to embrace all India; this latter task was chiefly Gandhi's mission. What happened in the subcontinent naturally affected Goa, and the fight for independence on the latter's soil really started when the Portuguese arrested Lohia in 1946. Indian Independence attained, attempts were made at annexing Goa peacefully; they failed; the Indian army then moved in and ended Portuguese dominion in 1961.

(24) The Konkan State

The first corollary of Indian Independence was the institutional preservation of the country's composite identity; this called for the official recognition and support of the land's tongues, best served by organizing linguistic territories as states. Even before Independence, in the Konkan, as in other parts of India, ideas were moving in the direction of linguistic states. The notion of the geographical and cultural uniqueness of the Konkan was propounded by Valaulikar, but the first person to enunciate the idea of a Konkan State, as a *Sagari Pranta* or Maritime Province, was the great Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag (1887–1950) of Karwar. This concept was elaborated by Kakasaheb Kalelkar(1885–),but was first presented in cogent intellectual terms by George Mark Moraes (1905–), whose arguments were reinforced by the fervent rhetoric of Bhaskar Anand Saletore (1900–1963), itself supported by his careful study of the language's antiquity.

(25) The Konkani Bhasa Mandal (1939)

Before the Konkan State could be set up, a language like Konkani, buffeted by so many adverse winds, needed an institutional haven to repair itself. This could best be achieved by its organized study; here again Shanbhag provided the institution, by founding the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, whose first meeting was held in Karwar in 1939. To it must be compared other organizations for the promotion of Konkani, like the Konkani Sahitya Samiti (founded 1944), the Konkan Cultural Association (1965) of Bombay and the Konkani Prachar Sabha of Cochin (1966), set up by Purushottama Malo (or Mallaya 1929–), the leader of the modern Konkani movement.

(26) The Konkani Section, All India Radio (1952)

Publishing in a language without an accepted standard and afflicted with a variety of dialects and scripts, is not

profitable business; both dialect and script inhibit communication between different groups of speakers of a language, dialect partially and script totally; hence, in contrast to successfully standardized tongues (like English), the spoken word in such languages is more generally intelligible than the written. Consequently, a medium of diffusion based on sound will more effectively unify than one which employs print, that is, the radio rather than the press. For purposes of political propaganda, Radio Goa started Konkani broadcasts in 1945. The Konkani Section of All India Radio, for the same reason, was set up by the Government of India in 1952, on the recommendation of people like P. M. Lad, Father H. O. Mascarenhas, Baki Borkar and Kaka Kalelkar. Radio Lisbon shrewdly followed suit in 1955.

(27) The Growth of Indian Language Schools

But a cultured tongue must be intelligible in writing to all its educated speakers. For quite some time now, endeavours had been made to give Konkani a uniform script. Only when it had one, it was realized, could all Konkani children, learning a common alphabet, grow up to read any work in their tongue.

Uniformization of script and standardization of language were also tasks before Indian language schools in the nineteenth century. These schools were being set up by the British in their territory at about the same time as the Portuguese were ostracizing Konkani in theirs. In 1812, Archbishop S. Galdino banned Konkani in Goan educational institutions; in 1815, the Native Education Society was founded in Bombay, and three schools were opened in that town. Eight years afterwards, the first Commission for Public Instruction recognized the importance of fostering Indian vernaculars, seven years before Konkani was strictly banished from Goan State Schools. In 1854, the great scholar

John Wilson asserted that Indians should be taught in their own languages, at which time there were already several schools in them. Five years later, Cunha Rivara, who had come to India in 1855 and been impressed by the British attitude towards the local tongues, wrote his *Instrucoes* for Konkani schools; no one heeded them and Rivara was stoutly opposed by the wily Marathist Suriagy Anand Rao (1828–1888). In 1869, Konkani was peremptorily debarred from Goan schools, and three years after, mixed Portuguese and Marathi schools were started. In 1880, a Government commission favoured Konkani primary instruction, but Suriagy Rao saw to it that nothing was done. In the commission was the Marathi and Konkani scholar Thomas Mourao, the Barao de Combarjua (1842–1904), who wrote the first Konkani primer and tried hard to get Konkani children taught in their own tongue; so did the poet Fernando Leal (1846-1910); neither had any success. In 1916, the Primeiro Congresso Provincial approved elementary education in Konkani, but that was all it did. In Bombay, however, some schools were founded for adult emigrants. In 1932, Salazar's coming into power revived Portuguese chauvinism, and the old insistence on Lusitanian speech to the exclusion of any Indian one. Goan Hindu preference for Marathi did not help matters. Nothing could be done before liberation, after which the first official Konkani schools came into existence in 1962, 107 years after their protagonist had proposed their establishment. But the energy that won this arduous victory seems to have accumulated enough dynamism to achieve more facile triumphs. In 1968, the Kerala government permitted the setting up of Konkani schools in its territory, at the insistence of the Konkani Prachar Sabha, Cochin, only two years after that institution's foundation.

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II. THE ERA OF UNIFIED KONKANI

The history of literary Konkani is that of a language under duress, with at least two factors discernible during its unfolding. First, the recurring need to render the tongue amenable to cultivated expression in each epoch; in other words, the absence of a *creative and cumulative stereotyping*. In flourishing languages, succeeding generations take over their predecessors' coined terms, expanded roots, multiplied derivations and variety of phrases, and build upon them. All this gives the pioneers' inheritors a rich, but relatively inelastic, medium of expression which is in a large measure stereotype. But Konkani's oft-imposed trammels have inhibited a continuous growth; the riches gleaned by previous writers' efforts have not fecundated the work of following ones, who have had to write in their language as if it had never been written in before; one is always coming across assertions that a particular writer is Konkani's first.

Second, a barely conscious awareness of the tradition itself, as when a succeeding age keeps the ideas and spirit of a former one while unaware of the sources; when an isolated writer, encountering Konkani works of former times, is inspired to write, but in a different manner altogether,

making no use of the earlier models. The beginning of the end of this state of affairs is Valaulikar.

1) Konkani in Kanarese and Marathi Works

We shall now see how the events I outlined above have had a bearing on the literary tongue's development. The primal event in Konkani's history, the coming of the Aryans, did not give rise to any literature; but the next one, the establishment of Kannada and Marathi, did. In the eleventh century, when Karnatak's vernacular held sway in the Konkan, the region's young Aryan speech had grown full-fledged. This is when Kannada speakers first seem to have noticed it, the kings Chavundaraja and Gangaraja being perhaps the earliest ones to do so in their inscriptions at the foot of the colossal monolith of Bahubali at Shravanabelgola (1116–1117). There the world *karaviyalem* "caused to be made", said to be Marathi, has both the Marathi (*–vi–*) and the Konkani (*–ya–*) causative affixes. Another royal witness to our language's existence seems to have been the Chalukya Someshvara III, one of the earliest students of popular literature and song in the Indian vernaculars, who in the same century quoted a couplet in his *Manasollasa* in what he said was Maharashtri. But the apparently incontrovertible *ka* dative in the poem's first line makes us nearly sure that it is Konkani, Maharashtri's first-born.

The foisting of Marathi's dominance also occured quite early, and most of the inscriptions found in the Konkan are in that vernacular. The Konkanisms that sprout in some of these epigraphs make us aware of a language that will not let itself be ignored; an example is the Verém inscription of 1348. From that age on, in the poems and official records composed by the Marathi writers of the Konkan, texts intended to be evenly of Ghati texture are found to be

encrusted with the terms and constructions of the musical tongue of the lowlands.

But the most startling evidence for the existence of some kind of Konkani poetry is furnished by the Marathas themselves, by one among the most eminent of them, the poet Namadev, in the fourteenth century. This devout bard, describing the child Krishna's pilfering of the cowgirls' clothes, makes the five of them beg the naughty god for their saris in five tongues, Konkani being one of them.

(2) The Mahabharata and Ramayana Tales

The Konkani poets had made the popular devotional works of the Maratha brahmins their own (event 2) and had taken to writing in the hillmen's tongue. But as in later ages, many literate Konkanis could not understand the upland lingo, so translations or paraphrases had to be prepared for them; both these and the originals were written in the Kannada script. At least one MS in the Kannada characters of Vijayanagara has come down to us, with the Marathi text and interlinear Konkani translation. With the adoption of the Roman script (event 6), the missionaries transliterated some of these works into their own script. It is in Roman that the oldest known Konkani classic, the extensive *Tales of the Mahabharata and Ramayana*, is preserved in a codex in the Public Library at Braga in Portugal; the same codex has a version of these epics in Marathi verse. The latter is the work of the Konkani poet Kruxnnadas Xama; the richness and sophistication of the Konkani prose suggests that it is also Xama's work. A study of its style makes it plain that Konkani had been used earlier in literature, though not for long, while (to compare it with the style of the seventeenth century writers who built on it) an analysis of later prose reveals a medium rendered consummately supple and elegant.

All this seems to indicate that, partly under the impact of Marathi, the Konkanis had made a beginning to writing in their own tongue. The literature so far produced could not be vast considering the scantiness of the numbers of the Konkanis in those days, but it would doubtless have evolved and grown in size had the Portuguese not arrived. The conversions that were made (event 4) split the Konkanis into two groups, whose differences in belief would, at least for the moment, be a bar to a common literary endeavour; the Inquisition sowed bitterness (event 8), which artfulness could turn rancorous, making cooperation not seem worth while. With numbers diminished and collective energy enfeebled by division, the two Konkani bodies could less and less be expected to cultivate their own tongue and more and more to look to foreign literatures for cultural nourishment, unless of course a vital bond of unity could be found.

(3) Grammars, Vocabularies and Linguistics

Konkani Song's development (event 3) was then going on, being also noticed by Namadev, but it was not yet to have any effect on the language's literary growth. But the establishment of the Catholic Church (event 4), the founding of Konkani schools (event 5), the setting up of the printing press (event 6) and the establishment of Portuguese (event 7) were to be of crucial importance.

Of the agents of Catholicism's diffusion the Jesuits were the most important, and the powerhouse of their activities was characteristically called the Seminary of the Holy Faith, later St Paul's, and was founded in 1542. By 1563, a Goan laybrother had already prepared the language's first grammar, which was preceded by a like work in Portuguese not more than by 27 years. In the south, the linguistic genius Henriques (c. 1520–1600), who had done pioneering work in Tamil, wrote a Konkani grammar, largely ready by 1567, only by

conversing with two Konkani natives in the Dravidian South. The language's standard form was fixed by Thomas Stephens (1549–1617) between 1568 and 1617. After this work the grammar's elaboration commenced; earlier researches were improved and augmented by Joao de S. Matias and consummated in Gaspar de S. Miguel's (alive between 1595 and 1647) monumental *Arte de Lingoa Canarim*, ready by 1635, the second part of which exhaustively treats of, and definitively formulates, Standard Konkani's syntax. In the latter year, the Franciscan Cristovam de Jesus wrote a grammar that seems to be based on the great work of Gaspar, who is perhaps Konkani's greatest scholar.

A whole host of minor Konkani grammars was produced at this time, but no Marathi ones were, though the missionaries knew the latter language and wrote their verses in it. However, Konkani's grammar can be better understood by comparing it with that of Marathi and vice versa; this is precisely what the Italian Jesuit Ignazio Arcamone (1615–1683) did in his work *Janua Indica*. At the end of the century, a grammar, now lost, was composed by the Tsodnnem (Chorão) brahmin Simão Alvares. Over half a century afterwards, when the Standard Konkani norm had disintegrated, the Czech Jesuit Karel Prikryl (1718–1785) wrote a resume in Latin of Stephens's authoritative work and named it the *Principia Linguae Brahmanicae*.

Vocabulary was studied alongside grammar. The first person to make a list of Konkani words appears to have been Garcia de Orta (1530–1572), who mentioned Konkani botanical terms in his *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas*. But the first scholars to catalogue Konkani words systematically were a number of Jesuits living in the province of Saxtty (Salcete) in the last years of the sixteenth century, who noted their findings in two volumes, which we may call the *Racholenses*. Stephens's pupil, Diogo Ribeiro (1560–1633), who had

amplified his master's grammar, also augmented the *Ruchalenses* with a vast number of idiomatic expressions in his two-tomed *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarym* (1626). The Jesuit Antonio de Saldanha (1598–1683) continued the organization of Konkani vocabulary, which was probably brought to perfection by his co-religious, Miguel de Almeida (1604–1683), who based his own colossal work on Benedito Pereira, S. J.'s vast *Prosodia in Vocabularium Trilingue* (1634), of 50,000 words. Two dictionaries preserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (Rome) and the Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon), which we may respectively call the *Lexicon Romanum* and the *Lexicon Lisbonense*, are probably MSS of Saldanha's and Almeida's works. The Franciscans also contributed to Konkani lexicography, some of their outstanding men being Manuel Banha and the great Gaspar, whose work, characteristically, was copious, in two volumes, but now lost.

A brief resumé of these researches seems to have been the vocabulary of Simão Alvares aided by his father Lourenco, completed in 1695. In the eighteenth century, Prikryl's colleague Diogo de Amaral (1699–after 1762) wrote the last Standard Konkani dictionary, the *Prosodia della Lingua Canarina*. None of these works can be traced.

These philological investigations suggested ideas which were to become basic in the latter science of Comparative Linguistics. Filippo Sassetti (1540-1588) had shown how like some Sanskrit and Italian words are. In 1583, Stephens intuited the fundamental notion of the science when he declared that Konkani and Marathi were related to Latin and Greek. Some decades afterwards, Arcamone remarked on the similarity of Konkani and Latin syntax. The methodology of a comparative study of languages was worked out by the French Jesuit Coeurdoux in 1767, several

years before William Jones stumbled upon it independently (around 1786) and got the sole credit of the discovery for himself. Two years before the latter date, also independently the Spanish Jesuit Lorenzo Hervas y Panduro (1735–1809) elaborated a theory of comparative linguistics, making large use of Konkani material, in his *Idea dell 'Universo* (1784). We must not despise the small comparative vocabularies, like J. F. Fritz's *Sprachmeister* (1748) and the Danish scholar Iver Abel's (c. 1720–1788) *Symphona Symphonum* (1782). These works contain lists of Konkani words which may have been of assistance to Panduro. We must also remember what comparative linguistics owes to Pikryl's grammar; reading it (in 1791) made the Czech philologist Josef Dubrovsky (1753–1829) aware of Sanskrit, and inspired the study of linguistics in Czechoslovakia, bringing about the revival of the country's decaying tongue.

(4) Prose Works

The very first works in Christian Konkani prose were a few catechisms, of which no trace remains. Many translations of religious texts followed, for the translation of more cultivated languages' classics suggests itself as the obvious means for developing less evolved tongues in vocabulary, variety of phrase and subtlety of expression. As in many other things, Stephens was an important pioneer, and prepared a version of Marcos Jorge's catechism, producing what is surely Standard Konkani prose's source-book. Diogo Ribeiro felicitously rendered Bellarmine's catechism into Konkani, so did the Franciscan João de S. Matias. A co-friar, Amador de Santana, turned Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum* into Konkani in 1612. The Jesuit João de Pedrosa (1615–1672) is the author of a superb rendition of Bernardino de Villegas's *Soliloquios Divinos* – the *Devachim Yecangra Bolannim* (1660). In Arcamone's *Sagallea Varussache*

Vangel (1667), the Konkani "Gospels for the Whole Year" we have the first version in an Indian tongue of any portions of the Bible.

The subjects of the above works were, as will be seen, saints' lives, meditations, and catechisms. The latter was the most popular sort of book, and other men who contributed to it were the friars Manuel Baptista and Manuel do Lado. Catechisms in Standard Konkani continued to be written up to the eighteenth century; the last of their writer was the Teotonio Jose (1701–1760). Still other literary types in vogue (whether translations or originals) were polemical tracts refuting "Gentile" errors (among the writers on which was Manuel de S. Matias), handbooks for parish priests and for bringing up children, confessionaries and sermons– the last being the most fully literary in scope. The author who tried his hand at all the types, literary and philological, was Gaspar de S. Miguel.

The original works were as a rule larger than the translations. Chief among the original writers are Antonio de Saldanha, who excelled in saints' lives, meditations and pastoral handbooks; and Gaspar de S. Miguel, who was held to be master of everything, but of whose work all but the grammatical portion is lost. But by far the most monumental creation of the age was Miguel de Almeida's prose poem, the *Onvalleancho Mallo* a sort of *Summa Theologica* in Konkani, where abstract theological concepts are expressed in vivid poetic language; hence the work is aptly titled the *Garden of Shepherds*. In it scholastic precision, an opulent philosophical vocabulary, Ciceronian periods and the imagery of Iberian Baroque rhetoric are acclimatised in the Konkan's musical tongue.

(5) The Beginnings of Poetry

In 1604, some musicians from Morhgoum went to Naveli to sing Konkani hymns at the dedication of the church there. This is the first mention I have traced of such hymns on the Standard Konkani epoch. Gaspar de S. Miguel is also supposed to have written a long Konkani poem on the Passion, but as the work is lost, it is impossible to be sure about the nature of the language of the original.

Two centuries of analytical and creative endeavour: only a fraction of it managed to get into print. Most of it was set down in MS. Of both printed and MS material much has perished or is still not traced. Not a little of what has survived is in European libraries and thus beyond the reach of the normal student of Konkani. Even in libraries in the Konkan, few of the printed classics are — which situation promises to improve through the devoted efforts of men like Marino Saldanha and Anant Kakaba Priolkar. One still cannot get even a vaguely consistent picture of the language's literary growth in this epoch, as indeed in any other, unless one is an impassioned scholar with leisure and the means to travel. We must very patiently await the day when the Konkani classics will be found on every public library's shelves.

III. THE ERA OF THE SEVEN DIALECTS

In 1684, a year after Arcamone and Miguel de Almeida were dead, the language they had devotedly cultivated was suppressed (event 9). For, as long as the Jesuits were in Goa (up to 1761), they ignored the law, which nonetheless proved fatal to Konkani's unity. By 1725, as Bishop Inacio de Santa Teresa tells us, speakers of various provinces in the Konkan could not understand each other easily. Of the many dialects prevalent in that region, seven were to become literary media, in order of evolution : Saxtti, Kerali, Koddialli, Karwari (the Hindu speeches respectively of the South and North Kanaras), Barhdexi, Manglluri (Christian Southern Konkani) and Antruzi.

Standard Konkani excels these later forms in wealth of word and phrase and preserves unblemished the old spirit of Konkanness. It has a propensity for the lyric and the mystical, which was not fully brought to fruition; at the same time, it is marvellously amenable to the discipline of prose and linguistic formulation, which capacities were amply exploited. The seven dialects are no more than its partial *avataras*. They bring out what is implicit in it and continue production along the lines of their forerunner's accomplishment. In doing this they are at their best; they are

sometimes not equally so when trying to add new dimension to the old achievement, as in critical, historical and scientific writing.

The breaking up of the language's literary unity was obviously a disaster, but the division of the standard tongue's gifts among its seven descendants led to a fruitful specialisation. We may, in the long run, find that this was beneficial to the language's growth. To assess the peculiar contribution of each to Konkani's common heritage : Saxtti first evolved the old standard tongue's flair for poetry and for lyrically evoked devotional feeling, especially as suffused with pathos; it also first explored the emotions of love and courtship, again as coloured by sadness. Karwari, Koddialli and Kerali, more than others, preserve the integral spirit of the old Konkan. Barhdexi continued its ancestor's subtle and detailed linguistic analysis, and brought in journalism, the novel and the theatre. Mangalluri made further advances in lyrical poetry, and created poetic drama. Antruzi extended the frontiers of Konkani poetry to their widest so far, fashioned the speech into an instrument of critical writing and gave intellectual form and justification to the sense of Konkanness.

(I) Saxtti

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, in the days of the Jesuit Francisco de Souza (1649–1712), the missionaries, who had learned their Konkani from books, found it hard to understand the Saxttikars. The bookish Konkani was the old Standard, and the speech of Saxtty was probably on the way to making the wholesale use of elision that it does today. Still, the Jesuits continued writing grammars and dictionaries of the older speech; witness the work of Prikryl and Amaral.

The fathers did not teach Konkani as a subject to the Goans, but they did teach things like music. And their pupils learnt to sing so well that the renditions by some of them of Carissimi's oratorios in the church of Bom Jesus made a friar from the world's stateliest court, that of Pope Alexander VII, feel he was in Rome. Thus was the polyphonic music of Italy grafted on to the Indian trunk of Konkani folk music, which had then been evolving for six centuries (event 3). Konkani Song's opportunities for conceiving and bearing art forms were supplied by the need for hymns in the mother tongue, and by the nineteenth century there was a large corpus in existence. The characteristics of traditional Goan poetry appear in them for the first time : melancholy and a simultaneous obsession with heavenly bodies. I know the names of not more than five hymnographers : Father Joaquim de Miranda of Santana (died 1783), author of the largest Konkani hymn, the *Rigto Jesu Molleantum*; Dona Barreto of Morhgoum (Margao; flourished in the 1820s), authoress of the *Papianchi Xeratinni*, considered by some to be the masterpiece of Konkani hymnology; Father Pascoal Baylon Dias, of Kormonnem (Carmona; flourished in the early nineteenth century), probable author of *S. Francisco Xaviera*, one of the most popular of Goan hymns (possibly set to music by Raimundo Barreto of Lotlli [Loutulim] who flourished in the second half of the same centuary); and the Mando writer Carlos Trindade Dias (c. 1854–1890) of Dovol-li (Davorlim), author of *S Jose Rogta Bagivonta*.

In the 1840s, as the era of the hymns was passing its peak, the Goans began to take avidly to social dancing (event 17), the rhythm of whose foot movements compelled a change in their music, indeed in some of the hymns themselves. Before this tremendous event, the *ovi* verse-form (three-and-a-half-lines) was in general use in religious and

profane songs. The elections (event 15) made the people politics-conscious; the urge to have songs to dance with, impelled the Goans to create a song-dance – form of their own, the Mando, which truly is India's *ballo nobile*; one of its earliest samples is a political song, *Luiinh* (1854). When the Mando first came into existance (c. 1840), it was a stanza of four lines, but, probably around 1880, it settled for four lines and a chorus as its standard. In this form the Mando's most outstanding composers wrote their best work. By the 1920's the classical period was nearly over; decline fast set in, deepened by the shock of the northward emigration (event 19), whose effects were felt late in Saxtty, the home of the Mando.

Of the early composers, the most important are Ligorio da Costa (1851–1919), of Kurhtori (Curtorim), and Carlos Trindade Dias. Their younger contemporaries were Arnaldo de Menezes (1863–1917), Gizelino Rebelo (1875–1931) and Torquato de Figueiredo (1876–1948)— the Great Three of the classical Mando. Arnaldo is the most catholic and versatile of them all, Gizelino usually the deepest, and Torquato, not infrequently, the most sublime. Other important composers were Eduardo de Menezes and Milagres Silva, of Lotlli, Frederico de Melo, of Rai (Raia), Pascoal Noronha (1872–1936), of Morhgoum, and Sebastiao Costa-Fernandes (1875–1937), of Kurhtori. An important Saxttikar poet, though he wrote mostly in Portuguese and only one poem in Konkani, is Adeodato Barreto (1905–1937), of Lotlli.

Saxtti in some ways is nearest to Standard Konkani; it is the only dialect whose evolution is linked unbrokenly with that of its predecessor, and it retains some of its forms and preserves the old Konkanness alongside the Latinity of the new civilisation. But in many more ways it is the remotest

om the standard speech. Grammatically it has in several spects innovated more than its co-dialects; it has no enchant for prose; it is not easily capable of grammatical efinition, that is, it demands more linguistic expertise than hese who have set themselves to be its codifiers have had at heir command. As a result, its use of elision still awaits ormulation.

As to prose, it has little besides the slender production of Pascoal Dias, who also deformed Konkani's syntax, patterning it after that of Portuguese. Grammatical work on it is more considerable. Inspired by Cunha Rivara's rhetoric, five grammarians set out to chart Saxtti's linguistic contours- Miguel Filipe de Quadros (1794–1871), Francisco Luis Gomes (1829–1869), Bernardo Santana Pacheco (mid-nineteenth century), José Maria Dias (flourished around 1869) and Francisco Xavier Araujo (1878–1949). By the time the latter grammarian wrote, Saxtti had been superseded by Barhdexi, and Araujo's language is impregnated with the latter dialect's forms.

(2) Karwari, Koddialli, Kerali

Old Standard Konkani can very well be called the speech of the *xennais* of Kut-tthall (Cortalim) in Saxtty. Some of them, and others of the same province, under pressure from the Inquisition (event 8), migrated to the Kanaras and Kerala. The speech of the stay-at-home *xennais* of Saxtty, as, we saw, changed a great deal from the Standard, but not so that of the emigrant *xennais*, which is still substantially what the one literary tongue of the old Konkan was.

By the third quarter of the seventeenth century some of the Konkanis had settled in Kerala; among them were three medical men - Apu Bhatta, Ranga Bhatta and Vinayaka Pandita - who helped the Dutch botanist Henricus Van

Rheede (c. 1637–1691) to write the first monumental work on Indian plants. They gave him a testimonial in Konkani attesting the authenticity of his book's contents. It is the first Southern Konkani document known to us; William Jones himself mistook its language for a corrupt Sanskrit.

Most of the emigrants, however, remained in the Kanaras. While their kinsmen in Kerala seemed to have mostly forgotten Marathi, the Konkanis of the Kanaras had not, or at least not their devotional poets, whose hymns were mainly in the Deccani hillmen's speech. There is also a belief that they wrote a few *bhakti* songs in Konkani, but I have as yet been unable to trace any. Some of the famous *bhakti* poets and poetesses were Santa Appaya, Raghavadasa, Jogavva and Avaddi. They were all originally from Kuthall and flourished in the last decades of the seventeenth century under the Ikkeri princelings, chief of whom was Basappa Nayaka I, ruler from 1696 to 1714. A number of old songs of uncertain date, some showing considerable imaginative power, have survived in Kerala; they may well belong to the corpus of the Konkani *santa* poetry. Whatever the exiguousness of this corpus, there seems to have been a fair amount of Konkani prose in the shape of translations of the *Bhagavata* and *Linga puranas*, and of the Epics (all of which are surely contemporaneous with the *Tales* of the Braga Codex), as well as original works like the *Virabhadracheritra* and the *Parasaramacheritra*. Temples appear to have had their own Konkani *sthala puranas*, and even the pirates had their Konkani histories. These books are probably in the temple libraries in Kerala; we know of them from the testimony of the scholar John Leyden, the man who started the Marathi— Konkani controversy (event 16).

The time when Leyden came to know of these works was that of a great ferment in modern Indian prose; fomented by William Carey's programme of Bible translation (event 12).

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wo Konkani pundits of the Kanaras, whose names I cannot id, prepared the draft of the *Dharmalem Pustak* (or, the *evalim Sagallim Utram*), comprising the New Testament and ie Pentateuch. Their style was examined and finalised by arey himself, who is said to have spent nearly a decade on ie work– the most monumental prose text in the speech of he Kanaras.

Carey's Christian zeal was paralleled by the devotional ervour of the Hindu *Bhaktas* of the Southern Konkan, who evived the old *Santas*' tradition of composing mystical songs, hief among the new devotees were Santa Nayakasvami. Narayana Tirtha (c. 1820-c. 1900), the two *Svamijis* of Chitrapur– Pandurangashrama (1847–1915) and Anandaashrama (1902–1966), and the three great *Bhaktas*– Sahajananda (1850–1911), Naddghar Shantibhai (1850–1902) and Shivaramashramasvami (mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century). While the Chitrapur *Svamijis* wrote prose, these devotees composed poems, in Konkani. Others who did so were Amula (or Amulakka) Shennai (1851–1902), perhaps the greatest among the Konkani poets and poetesses of Kerala, Narayana Narsingha Pai (1878–1959) of Ernakulam, R. C. Sharma (1896–) of Palliport, G. Kamalammal (1900–) of Alleppey, authoress of an *ovi* Ramayana, V. Ganesh Prabhu (1902–) of Cannanore, C. Narayana Malo (or Mallaya, 1912–1966) of Cochin, Vedavati Shennai of Alleppey, Narahari Kavi, Bhavanibai Padukone, and the prolific Narahari Vitthal Prabhu of Gokarn. But a corpus of Hindu devout songs in any modern Indian tongue is incomplete without a translation of the Hindu Song of Songs, the *Gita*; this classic (in whole or in part) was rendered into Konkani by Bande Narayannu Kamti (1872–1918), Mangesh Ramkrishna Telang (1859–1949), Bollantur Krishna Prabhu (1882–1965), Upendra Pai (1905–) of Ernakulam, Sheshgiri Keshav Prabhu and Svami Prabhavananda. A

samashloki has been prepared by the versatile journalist and writer of devotional songs, B. V. Ballo (Balliga, 1918–).

While the Hindu revival was taking root, the Jesuits arrived in Mangalore (event 22), and founded St Aloysius's. The work on Konkani of one of them, Maffei, inspired speakers of Karwari to take up the study of their language seriously, and to try and make it a vehicle of instruction. Narayan Achari of Udyavar wrote the first Karwari primer, and his linguistic researches were followed up by Hatyangadi Narayan Rao (1863–1921), compiler of a Konkani etymological dictionary (1917), R. Ranganatha Prabhu (1898–1965) of Alleppey, author of a dictionary and a Self-teacher of Southern (Kerala) Konkani, N. Anantasarma Sastri (1910–) of Cochin, author of a primary Konkani grammar, and Ranganatha Seshagiri Prabhu (1919–1965), compiler of a dictionary of Kerala Konkani. M. M. Shanbhag, founder of the Konkan State (in idea) and the Konkani Bhasha Mandal (in reality), himself wrote two primers. But all these investigations were cast into shade by Sumitra Mangesh Katre's stupendous *The Formation of Konkani* (1942), which was inspired by Jules Bloch's classic treatise on Marathi, and is the most scientific analysis of Konkani to date. Recently, the Konkani Sahitya Samiti has been at the task of standardising the language.

The pupils of the Jesuits were infected by the new enthusiasm, and began to urge their writers to make use of Konkani. Ammembal Subbarao Pai seems to have been one of these pupils; the first to answer his call was the devotional writer and dramatist Boilantur Krishna Prabhu, who wrote the *Chandrahasa-nattaka* (1912), the *Prahlada-charitra-nattaka* and several *bhakti* poems. His example was followed by the ill-starred Kumblle Narsium Nayaku (1873–1945), author of the *Savitri-nattaka* (1912). The bug of emigration bit the Kanara Konkanis only in the early years of this century

vent 19), but by the twenties their flourishing Chitrapur rasvat community was already sufficiently well settled in ombay to want a common cultural life. Its best expression s felt to be drama; after an unsuccessful start with English d Marathi, their playwrights settled for Konkani. The deyen of Konkani dramatists" in that city, Dongerkeri manath Rao (1898–1967), had started writing plays quite rly in life; among them was the *Vajrakuttkam* (1914), staged Gamdevi, Bombay, in 1934. He was the author of several ramas for the stage and plays for the radio, but serious work n Konkani drama was not taken up before Baindur Devrayu 910–) appeared on the scene. To lend sophistication the Konkani theatre he drew upon the resources of more volved literatures, and borrowed his plots from Molière, Goldsmith and Wilde, though the characters and dialogue here Baindur's own. Other dramatists are Surkund Annaji Rao (1916–), composer of the first Konkani *yakṣaganas* nd the chief, if not the only, poetic dramatist in Karwari; Kalyanpur Narahari Bhatt (1912–), Mudur Prabhakaru 1918–), the inventive and vivacious Mitrabai Kabad 1898–), Talgeri Venkatrao, V. B. Shanbhag (or "Vembaxa") and R. D. Kamat (1923–). The Konkanis of Kerala also wrote plays ; among the dramatists are Narayana Narasingha Pai, V. Ganesh Prabhu and Purushottama Mallaya, mentioned earlier.

Of poetry Karwari has far less. The first "profane" poet known to me is Xrinivas Prabhu, a cousin of Narayana Tirtha and author of a marriage song (*Xobhane*). In modern times we have the famous Kannada poet laureate, Manjeshvar Govind Pai (1882–1963), who occasionally wrote in Konkani, Shantaram Kamat (1891–) and the humorous and imaginative Dinkar Desai (1909–), also an important writer in Kannada.

These poets, like most modern Konkani ones as a rule, published their poems in periodicals, and some of them are journalists. Karwari journalism began with the *Sarasvat*, founded about 1923 in Mangalore by V. S. Kuddva, and revived around 1941, its most illustrious contributor being Manjeshvar Govind Pai. Some other journals were *Navyug* (Karwar 1940), *Uzvarh* (Karwar 1947), *Konkan Kinara* (Kumta 1950), and *Sarvodaya* (Karwar). Some Kerala Konkani journals were the *Sarasvatabodhini* (c. 1923), which had a Konkani section, and the *Sarasvatavani* (1965–). But most of these journals were not very popular, and Karwari writers often had to make use of Goan and Mangluri papers. The *Panchkadayi* (founded 1966) seems to be the most successful Karwari magazine yet. Rarely, collections of choice prose pieces published in journals were printed, such as the *Vounllam*, comprising selected contributions to the important MS magazine ***Avai***.

(3) Barhdexi

Saxtti, Kerali, Koddialli and Karwari form the southern group of Konkani literary dialects. The three remaining ones, which belong to the northern group, owe their rise to Cunha Rivara's crusade (event 18), and Barhdexi derived added nourishment from the great northward migration (event 20). In 1858, the year of the publication of Rivara's epoch-making essay on Konkani, the grammarian Bernardino Santana Pacheco had no knowledge of Barhdexi. Eleven years afterwards, Aniceto Maria de Sousa brought out a small dictionary using Konkani forms "common in Barhdes" (1869).

Early written Barhdexi has the impress of the still dominant Saxtti, as in Inacio Xavier de Sousa Rodrigues's (died 1907) *Diccionario Concanim-Portuguez* (1888). Gradually, more authentic Barhdexi forms began to predominate. It was

osé Gerson da Cunha (1844–1900) who set out to give the sing dialect a grammar around 1881, but his work remained nfinished. Not until 1892 was the first Barhdexi grammar ublished, in serial form and incomplete, by the great duardo de Sousa (1837?–1905) in his journal *Udentechem allok*. The raising of Barhdexi to the status of a standard peech, its lack of tradition and literature notwithstanding, vas achieved by the greatest Konkani scholar on Konkani, Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalgado (1855–1922), who used its forms n his *Diccionario Komkani-Portuguez* (1893) and *Diccionario Portuguez-Komkani* (1905) and in a detailed grammar which emains unpublished because of Goan dilatoriness and ntrigue.

Momentum in the elaboration of grammar was gained by Dalgado's efforts, and was intensified by D. F. Dantas, author of the first Konkani grammar on Konkani (1910), Canon José de Santa Rita e Sousa (1863–1940), Vicente Joao Janin Rangel (1858–1949), Mariano Saldanha (1878–), Father Graciano Morais (1904–), Father Crescêncio Francisco Monteiro (1902–1969) and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes (1889–). As to lexicology, the contributions of Alex Dias were ready in 1889, of Aleixo Caetano José Francisco (died 1916) in 1892, and of Casimiro Cristovao de Nazaré (1830–1928) before 1917. Dalgado's dictionaries were found to be too learned and his vocabulary too Sanskritised; so popular ones like those of the pre-Dalgado era continued to be printed, as for example the dictionaries of J. C. F. de Sousa and A. D. Lobo (1929), and some by the firm B. X. Furtado of Bombay (1930 and 1931). The most popular of these vocabularies was undoubtedly the *Manual de Tres Mil Vocabularios*, in a sort of Barhdexified Saxtti, of Sebastiao Salvador de Jesus Dias (1863?–1900).

Linked with the endeavours of studying Konkani were those of teaching it; hence, with the drive for Konkani

schools (event 27). Primers and text-books in Barhdexi are great in number, and most important among their writers were the Barao de Combarjua, Sebastiao Teotonio de Sousa (flourished 1892–1896), F. X. Fernandes–Liberal (flourished 1899–1905), J. M. Pinto (flourished 1904–1923), Michael A. Fernandes (flourished 1930–1933), Aleixo Martinho Julio de Melo (1876–1942), Antonio Vicente da Cruz (1885–1959), Assuncao da Silva (1922–) and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes.

More important than its linguistic contribution to Konkani is Barhdexi's journalism (the language's first paper, the *Udentechem Sallok* being in that dialect), which has three main phases. The first was initiated by Eduardo de Sousa's periodical (1889–1894). Of this time none of the papers survive, though at least 12 were started. The second phase was inaugurated by the *Rotti* (1914–), perhaps the most influential and harmful of Konkani journals. It provided brightly written essays on a large variety of subjects, was in fact a kind of *Readers' Digest*; it was also insidious, as it popularised the deformed ecclesiastical syntax created by Pascoal Dias. The man who made this journal was Father Ludovico Pereira (1881–1936), and his example inspired many editors to launch new ventures. The number of the periodicals of the *Rotti* era is legion, the most important of the surviving ones being the *Ave Maria* (1919), *The Goa Mail* (1919), *the Goa Times* (1930) the *Vaurad teancho Ixtt* (1933) and the *Udentechem Neketr* (1946). Konkani writing cannot be said to be better for their existence. The third phase, in which the standard speech of the Goan Christians veers towards Antruzi, and tries to be more authentically Konkani, was begun by the daring Felicio Cardoso in his *Sot* (1963).

I turn next to poetry, which is not Barhdexi's forte, though the dialect made a remarkably successful start with Eduardo de Sousa's epic, *Eva ani Mori* (1899), inspired by

)ante, Camoes and the Goan hymns. Most Barhdexi verse fter Sousa is jingles published in newspapers; but some of ie writers with genuine poetic talent are Joao Caetano rancisco de Sousa (died 1930), who also wrote copious rose, Joao Luis Carvalho (flourished 1909–1939) and ernardo Evaristo Mendes (1920–).

Another branch of literature where Barhdexi made a romising beginning is drama. The Konkani *Teatr* was ounded in 1892 by Lucas Ribeiro– who gained experience n his job working with the Italian Opera Company (1890) in Bombay– with the help of Caetano Fernandes and Joao Agostinho Fernandes (1871–1947) of Rai. The latter writer was prolific, being the author of at least 30 plays, remarkable rather for fertility of ideas than for artistry of workmanship. Though after him the *Teatr* gained in popularity, Fernandes's style and ideas were not bettered.

Equally popular and aesthetically unsuccessful was that most extensively read portion of Konkani writing, the Barhdexi novel. Here again there was a not insignificant start, in the novels of F. X. Fernandes Liberal (flourished 1889–1928), Sebastiao Salvador de Jesus Dias, Alcixo Caetano José Francisco (flourished 1892–1908), J. C. F. Sousa, Eduardo de Sousa, Francisco Pascoal Fernandes (1863–1927), Lourencinho Dantas e Sousa (flourished 1902–1913), and J. J. A. B. Brito (flourished 1903–1915). A new impetus was given by Antonio Vicente de Cruz; with him the Barhdexi novel became sentimental and melodramatic to a degree, and, if anything, less carefully written. Cruz is perhaps the most famous of Barhdexi writers, and symbolises most of the dialect's faults. Novelists of the post-Cruz phase are P. A. Coloco, J. M. Pinto (flourished 1904–1931), J. J. Campos (flourished 1905–1931), J. L. Carvalho (flourished 1909–1929), F. F. Cabral (flourished 1910–1938), F. X. Fernandes Douglas (flourished after 1915), the self-made and

talented José Lamartine Lobo (1889–1927), the productive hack Caridade Damasceno Fernandes (flourished 1931–1948), C. S. Guerreiro Dias (flourished 1932–1936), Taumaturgo Sousa (1911–) and Elliott de Elly (1931–). Felicio Cardoso (1932–) began as a writer of novelettes in Barhdexi fashion, but went over to journalism, colouring his language with Antruzi forms and turns of phrase. While some of the above writers, like the grammarian D. F. Dantas, wrote historical tales, their most popular themes were love, adventure, saints' lives, the war between the classes– nearly all tinged with an all too obvious desire to sermonise and edify.

(4) Manglluri

Though many Saxttikars settled in North Kanara, the main Christian speech of the Southern Konkan is principally eighteenth-century Barhdexi, which was successful where its Goan sister failed. Its links with Standard Konkani are slender, and its rise, after the captivity of 1784–1799 (event 11), was due chiefly to the encouragement of foreigners. Like Barhdexi Manglluri entered Konkani's literary salon cheaperoned by grammar. The first study of the speech of the Kanara Christians is due to the Italian Carmelite Rafaelle Pescetti, or Francesco Saverio di Santa Anna (1771–1844), who took the Saxtti-originated speech of North Kanara as his model, and also compiled the most meticulous of Konkani dictionaries. In 1838, Pescetti ordained a few priests, among them Pio Noronha (1810–1883), the first grammarian of what is now standard Manglluri. He was inspired to do this when he saw Cunha Rivara's edition of Stephens's grammar, and wrote his own elaborate work first in Portuguese (1858) for Rivara to publish (which he did not); and later in English (1875)– an extensive tract of 553 folios– for the Sanskritist Arthur Coke Burnell (who also did not have it printed).

When the Jesuits arrived in Mangalore (event 20), oronha presided at the meeting which welcomed them; iere he met Angelo Francesco Saverio Maffei, and must have ommunicated some of his enthusiasm for Konkani to the oung Italian scholar. It was really from Maffei, who wrote ie first publised grammars and dictionary of Manglluri, that ie impetus for the literary movement in that dialect came. o well did the Jesuit do his linguistic work that the Mangllurkars, unlike their Barhdexi brethern, felt no need for resh grammars, but the desired elaboration of the vocabulary was undertaken by Manglluri's most productive writer, Father Francis Silvester Menezes (1894–1968).

As in the other dialects of the Northern group, Manglluri's mainstay was journalism, the dialect's first periodical (1912) being started 23 years after the Barhdexi pioneer by Manglluri's greatest writer Luis Mascarenhas (1887–1961)– who significantly called it the *Konkani Dirvem* or 'Konkani Wealth'. For a variety of reasons, the paper stopped publication, but its work was continued by the more successful *Raknno* (1938), now edited by Mgr. Dr. Alexander Faustino D'Souza (1926–). In the 1940's, the centre of Manglluri writing shifted to Bombay; the journals founded there, like the *Poinnari*, gave a great fillip to competent writing in the dialect. But attemps at setting up more sophisticated magazines like the *Konkann Daiz* (1958, now extinct) met with little response. The *Mitr* (1953) of Mangalore also helped to make several writers. Its editor, J. S. Alvares, was so successful in his editing that he was led to found another paper, the *Jhelo* (1956).

These journals offered their pages to emerging Mangllurl poets. Luis (or Aloysius) Mascarenhas– who influenced the poets of his dialect more than did any poet of the other dialects his own fellow-speakers– published most of his poetry in the *Dirvem*; but in 1948, he printed his masterpiece,

Abraunchem Yajnadan in book form; this work is considered by most Manglluri critics to be the masterpiece of Konkani writing. The poets Mascarenhas inspired are Father Louis P. Botelho (1892–), Felix Paul Noronha (1916–), the master poet and craftsman Father Anthony John D'Souza or "Moridas" (1922–), one of the most sophisticated of Konkani poets, Charles Francis D'Costa (1931–), fecund in ideas, the prolific Leo John D'Souza or "Kavyadas" (1934–), and John Baptist Moraes (1933–), imaginative artist, expert versifier, dramatist and historian of Manglluri– disciples of which any poet could be proud.

More popular, but less successful as literature, is Manglluri fiction, which contains some of Konkani's bulkiest novels. Important authors are Eulalia Alvares (1916–), Joachim Santan Alvares, Vincent John Peter Saldanha and Apollinaris Thomas Lobo. Of equal bulk is the devotional literature, with little more than piety to command it. Most Manglluri authors are deeply religious; however, when they professedly set out to edify, their writing begins to lose quality. Some of the more important devotional writers are the Italian Jesuit Polese, translator of the *Imitatio Christi* (1894), Silvester Menezes, Monsignor Raymond Mascarenhas (1875–1960), Father Gregory Coelho (died 1918), Basil Rosario (died 1945), Miguel Colaco and Ligorio Vaz. Many of these men wrote with no literary pretensions, but only with the idea of supplying good reading to those devout people who could not read English.

(5) Antruzi

We now come to the youngest of Konkani's literary dialects, which, like others of the Northern group, has tenuous links with Standard Konkani. Like Saxtti, Antruzi entered Konkani's literary history not through a grammarian's efforts– though Ramchandra Bhikaji Gunjikar

had taken notice of its linguistic structure in his *Saraswati Mandala* (1884) before anything of importance had been written in it, but because of a poet's happy spontaneity. Kruxnnabhatt Bandkar (1876–1945), like any pious Konkani Hindu with literary pretensions, wrote a lot of dull devotional verse in Marathi (published), but, unlike many, a fair amont of sprightly and exhuberant poetry in Konkani (unpubiished). But it was with his junior by a year that the high flood of Antruzi writing rose. This was Varde Valaulikar, who, converted to Konkani at the turn of the century by one of Cunha Rivara's followers, the Barao de Combarjua, set himself to vindicate Konkani's wrongs. At the outset of his career, when he had not heard of its literature, he wrote poems and plays to compensate for this supposed lack. But his real mission, he felt, was to re-awaken the common Konkani consciousness of both Hindus and Christians, which transcended the religious and cultural modes both groups had acquired since the days when they had formed one community. This made him give particular attention to history, religion, grammar and linguistic controversy. In history, he showed how much Konkani culture had retained of the Vedic heritage, how Goa had been a centre of Maurya administration, how the Rashtrakutas were of Konkani origion, and how the Goan emigrants' predicament in Bombay could only be solved by their faithfulness to Konkani values.

Dealing with religion, he demonstrated how Konkani Hinduism was of a separate cast from the Maratha, and how, because of its Konkanness, it shared emotional attitudes with the equally unmistakable Konkani Christianity. He also created the *mystique* of the Konkani language, on whose honour he could tolerate not the slightest stain. The Konkan and Maharashtra were distinct; their languages were equally so. This he established, to the discomfiture of his Marathist opponents, with weapons sometimes as unscrupulous as those

which the latter had grown accustomed to using. He also studied his beloved speech's linguistic structure, writing the first complete Antruzi grammar in Konkani. No one was more conscious than he of the need for primary instruction in the mother-tongue ; so he left some elementary textbooks too.

This compaign, which in a lifetime freed Konkani of the disabilities that might have taken some generations of scholars to remove, he conducted for two decades almost single-handed. After that period, he was fortunatè enough to acquire two brilliant disciples, both Naiks– Kaxinath Xridhar, "Bayabhau" (1899–), and "Acharya" Ramchondr Xenkor (1893–1960). Brought up to believe that Konkani could not be written in, Bayabhau was astounded to find that it had long been, when he came across a catechism with samples of old prose and a few Goan hymns. In his youth he had a job as a printer; this later helped him to set up his own press, which made the diffusion of Valaulikar's works possible; he also founded a journal, the *Navem Goim*, where young Konkani authors could prove their talent; but above all, he was the first Antruzi poet of the new Konkani writing liberated by Valaulikar's militant efforts from its old sense of thraldom. Bayabhau's lyrical gifts were complemented by the Acharya's, the "Konkani Molière's", more dramatic ones. Very impressive was the latter's work on a Konkani dictionary, which he hoped would become the tongue's standard lexicon, but he died before his task was accomplished.

By the forties Valaulikar and the Naiks began to find support from the younger writers, like Vasant Karo, but what hitherto had been no more than the light breath of inspiration became a gust after Lohia's entry into Goa (event 23). One of the young men who participated in the agitation was Ravindra Kelekar (1925–), who continued the *Navem Goim*'s

vork in his *Mirg*, as did Baki Borkar (1910–) in his *Prajetso Avaz* (both 1953). Kelekar was a convert to Gandhism, ınd produced a body of Konkani literature on that philosophy; ıe was also an educationist and an ardent worker in the cause of Konkani schools.

Standard Konkani had been a language of superb prose, but this quality was rarely excelled by the new dialects. Saxtti was mainly poetical; Karwari had not much prose after the Serampore Bible; Barhdexi had an abundance of it, but nearly all bad; Mangllori had been more successful, but it was left to Antruzi to fill the lacuna satisfactorily. Valaulikar's prose was rich in vocabulary, if not carefully worked in its style; his contemporary Ramchondr Panddurong Vaidya (1859–1947) contributed some excellent Konkani prose pieces to his Marathi journal *Prachi Prabha* (1905–1915); but prose writing became really accomplished with the work of Ramchondr Narayan Naik (1901–). Equally competent was the prose of the short stories of Laxmanrao Sardessai (1904–), the well-known writer of the genre in Marathi (but more at home in Portuguese), who took to writing in Konkani seriously only after the Konkani Section of the All India Radio had been started (event 26). In addition to the journals of Kelekar and Borkar, the *Trivenni* (1962) of Chandrakant Kenni (1934–), the *Konknni*, the *Vidya*, the revived *Navem Goim*, the *Sallik* and the *Parmall* helped to exercise the long atrophied muscles of good Konkani prose.

An innovation of Antruzi's in Konkani was a kind of critical and historical prose; the pioneer was of course Valaulikar. His historical work was continued by some of the above writers, but chiefly by Ramchondr Narayan Naik and Vasudev Kamti Vagh (1910–1965). Valaulikar had also written the first Antruzi plays, in which he was surpassed by "Acharya" Naik; the work of these forerunners was continued with uneven success by Krishna Moyo, Punddi (Punddalik)

Danddo, Vasant Karo, Raghuvir Neurekar, Kisan Kamat, Vixvanath Sanzgiri, Uday Bhembro (1939–), Xenkor Bhanddari, Zuvarkar and Avdut Hegrho Desai.

Most of these *genres* had been first worked on by Valaulikar, but he did not excel in poetry– which is precisely Antruzi's chief adornment. Very little happened after Bandkar and Bayabhau, until that dramatic moment in Konkani's history, when Baki Borkar, to whom Konkani folklore had revealed its language's wealth, decided to write in his mother-tongue, and published his collected poems as the *Painzonn* (1960). This was considered shocking behaviour in a man who was virtually Marathi's poet laureate. The unimpeachale respectability that Konkani poetry had now acquired was incentive for further creation, and some of the poets of the "new wave" were R. V. Pandit (1917–) rich in ideas and bold in expression, Vaman Sardessai, or "Abhijit" (1923–), whose work often amalgamates sweetness and power, Suhas Dalal (1940–), a creator of *Stotras* in Konkani, Panddurang Bhangi (1923–), and Manohar Sardessai (1925–), the poet of Konkanism, unrivalled for wealth of imagery, artless profundity of thought and vividness of expression, with whose crowning as the "prince of Konkani poets" (*Kaviraj*) on 2 January 1966 the new Konkani writing was regally vindicated. Konkani's long smouldering fire had now sprung into flame.

This, in brief, is the literary history of a language not favoured by history, of its stubborn refusal to accept what to so many sophisticated people seems its obvious fate– extinction. As noticed earlier, there was never in Konkani, as in more favoured tongues, a consciousness of previous cumulative accomplishment, at least not in so far as concerns the literature of the language as a whole. I have sought to make it possible to remedy this in the present essay, and have tried to convey to the reader the wonder I felt at first viewing the panorama of Konkani's total creative endeavour.

V. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIFIED TONGUE

Konkani is one of the few pleasant-sounding modern ndian tongues; it is not far below most others in standards of literary excellence (considering especially the not very great moment of nearly all of them in world literature); it urpasses not a few of their number in phonetic, verbal and nflexional riches and nearly all in the ability to survive under duress. On the other hand, its small number of speakers, their financial poverty, the nearness of powerful neighbours not at all zealous for its survival, imperil the language's existence. With the added disadvantage of a plurality of literary dialects, its chances of continuance in a world where media of expression grow increasingly uniform, are slim. But Konkani must not die. It therefore needs a common standard.

This cannot be any one dialect imposed on the speakers of the others (admitting that there is an authority with the power to do that), for the speakers of our dialects are attached to their own varieties, or will become so subsequent to the imposition, as the near-enforcement of the not universally loved and admired Hindi has only led to a deepening patriotism for local tongues. It cannot be a

standard set up by a body of scholars, for its very arbitrariness will make every self-respecting man feel bound to violate it. It cannot be a norm gradually evolved by time, as we are pressed for time, and Konkani must survive.

What then is it to be? Severe indeed are the demands for a Standard Konkani; it must be intelligible to the language's speakers; it must be capable of exciting emotional attachment in the users of each dialect more than any other besides their own; it must finally possess antiquity and some literary prestige.

The only kind of Konkani to fulfil these prerequisites is the Old Standard *(Porni Prammann)*, which is unique in that the modern forms of the language receive from it both filiation and substance. In other words, while they all originate from it, each also preserves portions of the Standard's linguistic structure which the others have lost. One can thus picture it as a mosaic, most of whose tesserae have been incorporated into the newer pattern of Konkani's modern varieties, but which can be disengaged and re-set into the old design.

In consequence, as regards its intelligibility, not only can the speakers of Konkani's other species follow it, but it is what they have in common, and is thus probably easier for each modern speaker to comprehend than any other dialect besides his own. This is especially true of the *Pramann's* written form, for its mode of notation in Devanagari is fixed, and not capable of the eccentric variation found, for instance, within and between Karwari and Antruzi. As to its power for creating attachment, a person is normally more partial to his own dialect than to any other, but can equally cherish a form of speech with which his own shares substance and filiation, and, through it, come to care for the sister-dialects. The common parent of them all is the

rni Pramann, which is accordingly unapproachable in ntiquity. It is also pre-eminent in that part of literary estige which derives from great age, and the younger ialects have not yet surpassed it in excellence. The former pse of the memory of Standard Konkani's greatness can be scribed to the disasters of history, but we have now no xcuse for failing to see that the language's capacities and ealth were first fathomed in the old unified tongue — which vent will for ever remain unaltered.

The *Pramann's* splendid unity thus vindicates Konkani's ight to flourish as a literary tongue. But not everything in can be restored, as it possesses features which all Konkani ialects have together discarded. Our rule, then, will be to onserve what is living in it and cut out what has decayed. n more exact terms, the formation of a new Standard Konkani (*Navi Pramann*) will need (a) the avoidance of all hat the modern dialects have *jointly* abandoned in the *Porni Pramann*; (b) the retention of all of it that they have *jointly* retained; and (c) discretion in those things that some have retained and others discarded.

This holds true of grammar; there is then the problem of the vocabulary. Konkani has lost many of the words which denote complex concepts and are found in the make-up of civilized tongues; and people seek to supply this deficiency by borrowing words from Sanskrit (without phonetic modification) or from English or Portuguese. But the way out seems to be there ready-made; to revive the vocabulary of old Standard Konkani, which retains a larger percentage of phonetically assimilated Sanskrit words than do any of the hitherto officially recognized modern Indo-Aryan tongues. As for the terms expressing the ideas of the industrial world, we can watch what is happening to the more fortunate Indian languages, and make use of their solutions.

Restoring the old norm will not be easy; it is the height of naiveté to assume that we can unify a language without encountering difficulties. I envisage two initial complementary ones – the need for money, and for concentrated effort. We shall require both money and effort to revise the old norm, publish a standard grammar in it and to reprint and render usable the old vocabularies and literary texts. Konkani's condition and character all seem to point to the futurity of a rapid evolution, once the main hurdles are surmounted; and the most arduous of them is the acceptance and mastery of one script (Devanagari) in the Konkan. As most Devanagari texts are in Antruzi, we shall have to make use of this dialect as a provisional norm until the script is rendered familiar and the *Navi Pramann* texts have been got ready.

What is the condition and character of Konkani that make one sure of its future development? To begin with, its infrustrable will to live. Next, the fact that it possesses a standard form of speech (which awaits acceptance), rich, stable and flexible : this form increases the intelligibility of the dialects among themselves, and its unifying force prevents their drifting further apart. At the same time, the vitality of these dialects ensures that of the standard language; they put at the literary norm's disposal the living idioms coloured with the Konkan's rich diversity; they also turn over to it the modes of aesthetic expression that brought to fruition in a specialized manner the *Pramann's* own potential after its unity disintegrated. All this vitality will infuse new blood into the New Standard, and will be there to rejuvenate it each time its veins are about to harden through too much uniformity and stereotyping. We can thus, with vision and imagination, turn the harmful events of Konkani's history into factors for its good.

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Important Note

Some minor printing mistakes have crept in, for which readers' indulgence is solicited. Please read 'Koddiali' for 'Karwari' on pages 34, 35, 36 and 48. On p. 35 (line 32) read 'writer in the Karwari dialect and' for 'also'.

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